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PALESTINE PERSPECTIVES

Palestine Research and Educational Center

April 1984

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THE CULT OF MUTUAL RECOGNITION

The Palestinians seem to have two types of friends: those who support their right to self-determination and to struggle for its attainment, and those who volunteer (usually unsolicited) advice on how to make friends and influence people. Lately, an energetic faction of the second type emerged which specializes in advising the Palestinians on how to ingratiate themselves with the architects of their tragedy. We refer to those who counsel the Palestinians to strive for mutual recognition between Israel and the PLO.

The idea of "mutual and simultaneous recognition," as it is usually stated, is portrayed as an eminently reasonable and fair prescription for breaking out of the vicious circle of Palestinian-Israeli conflict. It is a modern version of the older myth that the Palestinian-Israeli conflict is the clash of two rights. In the early stages of the conflict, Zionist supporters who were too dignified to represent the more vulgar versions of Zionist advocacy, resorted to the "clash of two rights" slogan to justify their support of colonialist settlers against an indigenous society threatened with subjugation and displacement. It made them appear to be (and perhaps feel) learned and just.

The same astigmatism afflicts their intellectual successors who today argue, with evident pride in their own fairness and wisdom, that "mutual and simultaneous recognition" is the way to break the deadly stalemate between Palestinians and Israelis. Since this idea is now being paraded as the highest stage of wisdom, it deserves to be scrutinized more closely.

One: The advocates of the idea address themselves primarily to Palestinians. This fact in itself betrays adherence to

the Zionist myth that the Palestinians bear the primary responsibility for the conflict because they have not accepted the state of Israel. This view does violence to reality by confusing the victim for the aggressor. According to this view, it is not the Zionist destruction of Palestine which ignited the conflict, but the Arab refusal to condone that act.

Two: By addressing themselves primarily to the Palestinians, the advocates of "mutual recognition" imply that Israel is essentially amenable to coexistence with the Palestinians. The least that this view does to the truth is that it stands it on its head. Everything Israel does and says refutes the views that it is willing to coexist with the Palestinians. Its declared official policy is that Israel will not recognize the PLO even if the PLO recognizes Israel.

Three: Most important, is that the idea of "mutual recognition" is anything but a fair and even-handed concept, as its advocates portray it to be. Israel is a *state*; the PLO is a *movement*. Israel does not want land from the Palestinians; it has already taken all of their land. What it wants from the Palestinians is legitimacy. PLO recognition of Israel would give Israel all that it still has not taken from the Palestinians. On the other hand, Israeli recognition of the PLO would give the Palestinians nothing. They would still be a homeless and stateless people.

If it is to be meaningful, mutual recognition must be a part of a peace process which removes the present Palestinian condition of homelessness and statelessness. But offered, as it is often done, as a worthy event on its own, it lacks merit and practicality. □

M. Hallaj

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Dr. H.I. Hussaini

(Palestine Perspectives asked several Palestinian intellectuals to identify what they consider to be the priorities of the Palestinian national movement in the coming stage. The following is the response of Dr. H.I. Hussaini, former Deputy Representative of the PLO at the UN and a member of the Palestine National Council.)

The Palestinian people today face tremendous challenges in their struggle for survival. In 1982 and 1983 they faced a massive Israeli military campaign to destroy their military and political power in Lebanon. This campaign climaxed with the massacre at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. In 1983, some Arab governments moved to further weaken the PLO and put it under their control.

The Palestinians are thus further scattered in exile, their socio-economic institutions destroyed in Lebanon, their political offices and military forces dispersed. Their leadership is fighting back for survival, searching for ways of maintaining PLO unity and ability to represent the Palestinian people.

But the greatest of all challenges lies in occupied Palestine where close to two million Palestinians live under direct Israeli control. In the occupied West Bank and Gaza, Palestinian Arabs are fighting for survival against a most brutal Israeli occupation determined to expropriate their land, uproot them and expel them from their ancestral homeland. They are denied their human, civil and political rights. Their property is confiscated, their houses demolished, they are imprisoned and expelled without trial. Their social, economic, educational and medical institutions suffer and suffocate under Israeli restrictions and regulations.

General Ariel Sharon, reflecting the thinking of the Israeli government, sought the destruction of the PLO in Lebanon to facilitate formal Israeli annexation of the West Bank and Gaza. That is why since September 1982, the Israeli government accelerated the building of new settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, the confiscation of Palestinian lands, and adopted plans for the forceful removal of Palestinian refugees from camps inside the West Bank. Israel has also imposed financial restrictions on Palestinian businesses, municipalities and other institutions in order to prevent their expansion and survival. Without economic institutions and economic prospects for survival, the Palestinian population would slowly leave its homeland, its farms and homes.

Thus the first priority for the PLO and the Palestinians is to survive on their land, Palestine. To be able to remain in their towns and villages, on their farms and in their businesses should be their primary goal. They have to protect their institutions and to find ways and means of supporting their schools, hospitals, industries, businesses, and municipalities in the occupied homeland. This should be the priority of the PLO and the Palestinian leadership. Current PLO talks with Arab governments, particularly Jordan, focus on finding appropriate means to support Palestinian survival inside the occupied homeland and providing the Palestinian people with the necessary aid for



survival and steadfastness. That is why Chairman Arafat met a number of Palestinian leaders from the West Bank during his recent visit to Jordan and held long discussions with them over these issues. Joint Palestinian-Jordanian committees have also been formed to focus on this priority and to find ways of supporting the Palestinians living under occupation.

Palestinian organizations and associations everywhere must also give attention to this priority. The duty of Palestinians everywhere is to provide the necessary assistance to their brethren under Israeli occupation. They must find ways of supporting the educational, medical, social and industrial needs in the occupied territories to enable their people to survive as a society. They must bring the case of the Palestinians under occupation to the attention of the media, and they must call on human rights organizations to protest Israeli oppressive policies and to defend the rights of the Palestinians under occupation. This is an urgent task that must be addressed in the West and in the United States in particular. Peace organizations must become aware of this issue, and demand the protection of the human, civil and political rights of the Palestinian people under occupation. □

TNT: THE NEW TERROR

David Patterson

Nothing better reflects the increasing social and political antagonisms in Israel than the recent reemergence of a Jewish terrorist group calling itself Terror Against Terror, with the Hebrew acronym TNT.

The group claimed responsibility for the assassination attempts against three West Bank mayors in 1980, which left Bassam Shaka of Nablus and Karim Khalaf of Ramallah crippled. They also admitted killing Jewish Peace Now demonstrator Emil Grunzweig at an anti-Sharon rally in 1983, when a hand grenade was thrown into the crowd. Since last December, TNT has returned with a vengeance, launching a series of attacks on Muslim and Christian religious institutions, and killing and maiming civilian Palestinians, particularly in the West Bank and Jerusalem.

TNT, proclaiming 'Arabs out' as its aim, has been identified by liberal Jewish scholars in Israel as characteristic of the 'Nazification' presently sweeping a significant minority of the Israeli population. With rising antiwar and 'peace with the Arabs' sentiment in Israel as a consequence of the war in Lebanon, economic collapse, and opposition to settlement and annexation of the West Bank, there has emerged, as a counter-force, a new expression of Zionist extremism.

Last year, Dr. Israel Shahak, chemistry professor and
(continued on page 3)

TNT (continued from page 2)

president of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights, and himself a survivor of the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, declared that 'Israeli Jewish society, as well as some of the other diaspora Jewish societies, is undergoing a process of Nazification'. Shahak saw this tendency particularly amongst Jewish American immigrants to Israel, warned that it was 'a danger to humanity as a whole', so that 'either Israel will become wholly Nazi and ultimately perish, or it will become free'.

Others see Shahak's analysis as too severe and one-sided. Nevertheless, there is growing support for the expulsion of all Arabs from Israel. Writing in the December issue of the settler journal 'Nekuda', David Rosenzweig declared, 'We have to encourage them to get out of here... for our future in this country. If we are to have a future, then there is no place for the Arabs in this country.'

Rosenzweig elaborated to 'Haaretz' journalist Zvi Barel: 'We have to initiate an orderly government operation that would lead to the evacuation of the Arabs for money or other payment. The path of coexistence is a dangerous one, if we continue along this path... we will reach a point where we would have no choice but to load the Arabs on buses and take them over the bridges.'

This extremism is reflected in the terrorist backgrounds of the present and immediate past prime ministers, and particularly in Yitzhak Shamir, whose terrorist organization, the Stern Gang, was sympathetic to Italian Fascism and attempted to collaborate with Nazi Germany during the Second World War. Shamir and Begin, moulded in the Revisionist Zionist view that Israel should extend as far as military adventure would allow, are now being outflanked by a new neo-Nazi right that uses terrorism against the remaining Arab population as a means of 'purifying' Israel of all Palestinians.

The most visible advocate of TNT is Rabbi Meir Kahane who, before his migration to Israel, was a leader of the violent American Jewish Defense League. In Israel, Kahane leads the Kach movement, which draws its main support from religious zealots/extremist settlers, and which advocates the establishment of a Greater Israel cleansed of Arabs, and the rapid settlement of the West Bank (and south Lebanon) and dispersion of its Arab inhabitants. Under the Begin government, links were forged between state intelligence and settlement institutions and extremist settler groups including Kach and Gush Emunim.

On 5 January, Kahane was arrested on charges of expressing support for TNT but, after his 'escape' from police and subsequent 'recapture,' was placed on a \$250 bail. Official investigations of TNT attacks have yet to yield positive results, and no TNT members have come to light. Anonymous spokespeople ring the media to claim responsibility for the attacks. But Kahane's Kach and Gush Emunim are clearly behind the new terror. Kahane's rallies display placards saying there should be no objection to TNT activity, he views TNT members as 'brave men,' and objects to TNT only on the ground that 'it will not gain the most important goal: expulsion of all Arabs from the country.' A Kach leaflet distributed in Jerusalem during January demanded 'Arabs out!'

Support for the new terrorist group(s) came initially from Jewish American immigrants, as Shahak noted. Kahane's American activities still include camps for train-

ing JDL activists in fighting tactics and the use of weapons. But now West Bank settlers, at the frontline of Zionist expansion, and trigger happy and well armed as a result of regular military service, are joining in the fun of terrorizing and killing Arabs.

The settlers have long complained to the government that stone throwing, a symbolic expression of Arab opposition to Israeli annexation, has not been dealt with strongly enough. So Kach, Gush Emunim and TNT have 'taken things into their own hands,' shooting and beating Arab civilians, attacking religious institutions and trying to re-establish the fear amongst the remaining Palestinians that was so successfully engendered by the Zionist terrorism of the 1940s. Like 1947-48, TNT wants a second exodus of Palestinians that will leave the West Bank free of 'foreign elements.'

Extremist rabbis such as Kahane exert a strong influence over these ultra-right groups. Some have actually argued that it is a Jew's duty to kill Arabs, that genocide is permissible. After an 11-year-old girl from Nablus was shot dead by a settler, Chief Rabbi Mordechai Eliahu told residents of the Shilo settlement that whoever shot her should not be treated as a murderer. He cited the Talmudic passage that justifies killing in self-defense.

The new terror started in mid-1983, when a Nablus woman and her cousin were shot dead while shopping. Nobody was ever charged. Attacks by settlers have become almost everyday occurrences, with the government shedding crocodile tears and doing nothing.

On the night of 20 November, about 400 settlers from Kiryat Arba and surrounds raided the Arab town of Halhoul north of Hebron, destroying three vehicles and the verandahs of ten houses. According to the acting mayor, 2000 residents fled to the mountains as shots were fired and the mob rampaged through the streets.

Settler students at Birkat Avraham Yeshiva in Old Jerusalem, injured four Palestinians in two separate attacks on 1 and 4 December. In the first, two shops were attacked and a shopkeeper and his son hospitalized. Israeli soldiers on patrol did nothing to prevent the attack. In the 4 December incident, a 20-year-old youth was hospitalized after tear gas was sprayed in his eyes, and his brother was treated after a severe beating.

Four days later, a settler shot dead an 11-year-old girl and wounded her younger sister. The next day, TNT claimed responsibility for a series of bombs planted outside a Franciscan monastery, a Greek church in the centre of Jerusalem, and a mosque in nearby Beit Safafa. Within 24 hours, a grenade exploded outside a house in Husan, and two more bombs (booby-trapped grenades) were subsequently discovered.

TNT bombed two religious institutions on 20 December. Imam Tariq Omar Hussein of Bethany mosque was in a critical condition after a grenade exploded under him as he walked to morning prayers. In a nearby Greek Orthodox convent, a grenade hidden under a pile of stones wounded Abrexia Yerie. A third grenade was discovered before it exploded at Nabi Elazar mosque. In the previous week, five grenade bombs were discovered around Jerusalem.

Another bomb was safely detonated on 5 January in Arab Hebron after it was found at the Qazazin market. Ten days later, a Russian Orthodox nun escaped injury when a booby-trapped Israeli army issue grenade destroyed her flat

door in Ain Kerem convent. On 13 January, Kiryat Arba settlers had again attacked Hebron, wrecking the house of Jibril Jweihan.

The terrorists returned to a favourite hunting ground on 27 January, when five men carried 10 kg of explosives and 18 grenades into the Temple Mount, the holiest Muslim shrine in Jerusalem. They were disturbed by guards near Al Aqsa mosque and fled, leaving the evidence behind. Most of the grenades used in TNT attacks have had the same Israeli army serial number sequence.

Israeli Prime Minister Shamir, who opposed the Camp David agreement because Israel should never hand back 'Jewish' land, clearly favours annexation of the West Bank. While TNT is doing no more than Shamir's dirty work, it is also helping to further isolate Israel from international public opinion, and particularly from the Christian churches. □

Reprinted from Free Palestine (Australia), February 1984.

THE DANGEROUS FRINGE

Yehoshua Sobol

(A recent public opinion poll conducted in Israel and published by the Jerusalem Post on January 13, 1984, shows that 18.7 percent of the Israeli public support terrorist activities by extremist Jewish groups against the Palestinian civilian population in the Israeli occupied territories. Among supporters of the ruling Likud coalition, the percentage reaches 26.2. The following article by Israeli writer Yehoshua Sobol uses the German experience in the 1930's to warn of the implications of this trend in today's Israel.)

What portion of the German people were in favor of and supported the annihilation of Jews in the course of the holocaust? Half of the German people? A third? A quarter? Maybe only ten percent?

It is difficult to give an accurate answer to this question. It is easier to say how many Nazi Party members were in favor of physically harming the Jews because this question has been researched by the sociologist and researcher of anti-Semitism, Michael Miller-Claudius. His findings raise thoughts. Let the numbers talk:

In 1938, after the events of *Krystallnacht*, Miller-Claudius contacted a representative sample of the Nazi Party members and found that 63 percent of them objected to hurting Jews, 32 percent expressed apathy on the subject and only 5 percent of all the Nazi Party members were in favor of harming Jews. Four years later, in 1942, in the course of the war when the annihilation of Jews was already speedily taking place, Miller-Claudius returned to the question again, and again with representative samples of the Nazi Party members. He discovered that the number of those against attacking Jews decreased to 26 percent; on the other hand, the numbers of the apathetic increased to 69 percent, while the number of the Nazis in favor of attacking Jews remained stable: 5 percent of all Nazi Party members.

These facts, published by researcher of anti-Semitism Norman Kohen in *In Validation of Genocide*, are interesting and enlightening. It is clear that during the activation of the policy of genocide toward the Jewish people, only 5



percent of Nazi Party members were prepared to identify with the policy. It is also presumable that only a minority of them belonged to that fanatic, tight circle that was acting, or was prepared to act, by actually murdering Jews. Furthermore, as the research makes clear, that extremely jealous, fanatic nucleus did not increase during all the years of Nazi rule. And it is presumable that from the aspect of the human components, this tight nucleus did not change significantly from the beginning days of the Nazi Party until the final fall of Germany in the war.

The Influence of Education on Youth

One who hesitates to believe the implications of Miller-Claudius' findings is invited to confront them with another piece of research that has no connection with Miller-Claudius and that was made on the basis of experts questioning 1000 German POWs between 1942-44. It shows that 24 percent of the German POW soldiers absolved themselves from the deeds of the Nazi regime against Jews, 65 percent expressed apathy and only 11 percent of the *Wehrmacht* soldiers identified themselves as fanatic Nazis.

These facts support the findings of two other researchers, Abel and Alen, who separately reach similar conclusions about the relatively small number of fanatics among Nazi Party members, and furthermore—among the whole German population. While Abel discovered that 60 percent of the Nazi Party members did not mention anti-Semitism as a reason for their joining the party, there were many who were not convinced at all by this side of the Nazi ideology. They testified that they joined because they considered it a patriotic party to reinforce the people's unity and to protect the basic interests of the homeland during a difficult time of the nation and that, along with this, they "had difficulties in accepting the statements of the national leaders on the Jewish question." It should be remembered that Abel's research was undertaken in 1934, when the party members did not yet have any interest in hiding hatred against Jews.

As to Alen, from his research it can be understood that the gap between Nazi fanatics and the majority of the population was wide. While the Nazi fanatics, who constituted 5 percent of all the party members, considered anti-Semitism as a central concept, Alen's research shows that the majority of the people considered anti-Semitism as disgraceful and anti-Semitic propaganda as definite stupidity, madness and even a deviationist and rejectable side of the Nazi ideology. On the other hand, Nazi ideology touched their hearts because it seemed to them a patriotic ideology, a truthful expression of the essential desires and aspirations of the German nationality.

Norman Kohen summarizes: "Anti-Semitism fulfilled only a minimal role in Hitler's rise to power, but apathy to the persecution of Jews fulfilled an important task in aiding the further persecutions to come."

(continued on page 5)



FRINGE (continued from page 4)

Danger in a Fragmental, Fanatic Minority and an Apathetic Majority

From all the above it is clear how much liberals, who tended to ignore the danger inherent in the Nazi Party before it came to power, erred—claiming that the extreme views of the party leaders belonged only to a fragmented and crazy small minority and were repulsive to the spirit and values of the majority of Germans. The facts for themselves were right: only one out of every 20 Nazis belonged to the small, tight circle of party fanatics; only one out of 100 Germans held such ideas; in fact, they didn't err, those socialist, social-democrats and liberals who rejected the danger. The error was in the interpretation of the facts. The error was in ignoring the danger that was hidden in the minority.

Now, after 50 years, there is no justification any more for ignoring a danger that is embodied in a fragmented-fanatic minority. A careful examination of the distribution of the views and positions in German society in the Nazi period has left no excuse for anyone today to allow themselves to claim that as long as racist ideas belong only to a small minority there is no basis on which to speak about the fascistization of the whole society.

The opposite is true: the German experience proves that fascistization of the society begins where racist ideas and extreme chauvinism belong to a small minority on the extreme right whose activities are carried out against the background of the majority's apathy. In this respect, the fragmented racist is no worse than the detached liberal who encourages the growth of the apathetic public.

In order to blow up 100 cars of the persecuted national minority, no more than five fanatics who belong to the fragmented-crazy minority are needed, but a necessary condition for the success of such a pogrom is the existence of a decisive majority of the apathetic.

One who wishes to examine today the extent of the fascistization of the Israeli society is advised to examine what the percentage is of those from the extreme-nationalist right who object to any violation of the Palestinian Arabs' rights. What percentage of our extreme right is apathetic to violating Palestinians' rights and what percentage supports violating their rights, including physical damage?

And again, it is worthwhile to remember: in 1938, in Germany, 63 percent of the Nazi Party members opposed harming Jews, 32 percent were apathetic and only 5 percent were in favor of harming Jews! Anything added to this—is meaningless... □

This article was originally published in the Israeli daily al-Hamishmar of February 2, 1984. Translated by al-Fajr (Jerusalem) of February 15, 1984, where it was published under the title "The Leading Minority."

MAYOR QAWASMEH:

Mr. Fahed Qawasmeh was elected Mayor of Hebron in 1976. The Israeli occupation authorities dismissed him from office and exiled him to Jordan in 1980. The following interview with Mayor Qawasmeh was conducted by Khalil Jahshan during the mayor's recent visit to Washington:

Q. *Where does the Jordanian-Palestinian dialogue stand today?*

A. Jordan and Palestine have a special historic relationship. Palestinian events since 1948 and the presence of more than a million Palestinians in Jordan enhanced this relationship, and made it necessary, for the good of both peoples, to rationalize and organize this relationship.

Relations between Jordan and Palestine had their ups and downs, but the Palestinians remained committed to their development and improvement. The dialogue we had in the spring of 1983 did not succeed due to disagreement on the Reagan plan. The Jordanian government agreed to take it as a point of departure for future political moves, but the PLO felt that the Reagan plan did not satisfy the minimal political rights and aspirations of the Palestinian people. It denied the right of the Palestinians to self-determination, and it ignored the PLO, their legitimate leadership.

Subsequent events in the region became increasingly threatening to both sides, and they both felt an urgent need to overcome the difficulties their dialogue faced. Israel and its supporters tried to intensify Palestinian-Jordanian disagreements by threatening the Palestinians with Jordan and by threatening Jordan with the Palestinians.

Furthermore, the Palestine National Council had decided (in February 1983) to seek a confederal relationship with Jordan, a sort of relationship in which Jordan also is interested. To develop this concept, a dialogue is necessary between the future partners.

It is also important that Palestinian and Jordanian leaders work out some of the problems encountered by the Palestinian community in Jordan, as well as to coordinate their efforts to assist and support the people in the Israeli occupied territories.

Q. *What has been achieved so far?*

A. It takes time to deal with the many issues involved in Jordanian-Palestinian relations. The fact that the dialogue continues is important in itself. We do not want hasty conclusions because what we do now may affect both the Palestinian and Jordanian peoples for a long time to come. We are looking for strategic rather than tactical arrangements. So we need to be thoughtful and deliberate.

More importantly, we do not want understandings only between leaders, but also between the two peoples. This means that Palestinian and Jordanian institutions should be involved in this dialogue. All this will take time to produce concrete and specific results.

DIALOGUE WITH JORDAN

Q. Apparently, the Jordanian position has shifted since the talks of last year. In what way has it changed?

A. The Jordanian side accepted the Palestinian view that the Reagan plan is not the most suitable framework for peace in the Middle East, especially after King Hussein's recent visit to the United States, which confirmed to him that the Reagan administration is not serious about seeking a just peace. King Hussein became convinced that the U.S.-Israeli strategic cooperation agreement makes the U.S. unfit to be an evenhanded peacemaker and became, instead, a party to the conflict. The U.S. use of its veto power in the Security Council, for example, to protect Israeli settlement policy means that it supports it. Its unlimited economic and military assistance to Israel also undermines its credibility as a mediator. King Hussein's recent interview with the *New York Times* shows his utter disillusionment with this attitude of the United States. For these reasons, the government of Jordan no longer accepts the Reagan plan and subscribes, instead, to the Fez resolutions which the PLO and the Arab states accept.

Q. Do you think this is a passing reaction or a studied reorientation of Jordanian policy?

A. I know King Hussein. He is not given to hasty and emotional outbursts. I believe he reached a conclusion that a change of policy is called for. I think that he believes that the Arabs must deal with the United States on the basis of its treatment of them.

Q. The American media interpreted King Hussein's decision to reconvene the parliament as an attempt to pressure the PLO. Do you see any basis for this view?

A. The reconvening of the Parliament is an internal Jordanian affair. The Jordanian government made this point clear. It has nothing to do with Palestinian representation, which Jordan recognizes to be the right of the PLO.

Q. Yasser Arafat met with Palestinian personalities from the occupied territories during his visit to Amman. What did they talk about?

A. The Palestinian delegation informed Arafat of the conditions of life under occupation, particularly Israel's violations of the human rights of the Palestinian people. They also expressed their support of the ongoing effort to develop a joint Jordanian-Palestinian policy regarding the conflict in the Middle East.

Q. In your opinion, what should be the priority of the PLO at this stage?

A. We need a clear strategy for the future. As we develop such a strategy, we should not worry about dissent; we should expect it and welcome it. We cannot continue to expect unanimity. All national movements had a majority and an opposition. Substantive unity is more important than formal unity.

We also should pay more attention to our people in the occupied territories. Our revolution must be taken to the homeland. We should support our people there and help them to be more effective participants in our national effort. □



PLO
News and Views

PREPARATIONS FOR PNC

Efforts are being undertaken to prepare for the convening of the next session of the Palestine National Council (PNC). The session will be held in Algiers soon, but no date has been set yet.

Palestinian sources say that two important issues need to be ironed out in order to ensure a successful session for the PNC, the highest policy-making body of the PLO. One, is the issue of participation. A Palestinian dialogue is taking place on how best to ensure broad participation without compromising the independence of this important Palestinian institution. It is expected that all Palestinian groups, with the exception of splinter factions which took up arms against the PLO in Tripoli last November and demonstrated subservience to non-Palestinian parties, would participate.

The second important issue being worked out through the on-going Palestinian dialogue is the question of PLO relations with Arab states, especially Jordan and Egypt. A broad policy regarding this issue was adopted by the previous session of the PNC, in February 1983, but current contacts between the PLO and Jordan and Egypt require that a more detailed and concrete policy regarding Palestinian-Arab relations needs to be developed to ensure proper implementation of previous PNC resolutions. □

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NEW ISRAELI PARTY

Another Move to the Right

The Israeli political system continues to slide to the right. A new political party is being formed, to be led by politicians who accused Menachem Begin of excessive moderation. *The Jerusalem Post* reports that "Lamifne" faction within the National Religious Party, headed by Israel's Interior Minister Yosef Burg, is seeking to set up a new party in alliance with Hanan Porat of "Tehiya" and Hayim Druckman of MATZAD (Zionist Religious Camp).

Knesset member Hanan Porat has resigned his seat in the Israeli parliament to work for the establishment of a broadly based religious party. According to Porat, the aim of the current political maneuvers is to create a new national-religious movement with a policy similar to that of "Tehiya," but with a change of emphasis and an entirely new leadership.

Meanwhile, according to Israeli Radio, several members of the Gush Emunim secretariat have resigned from the "Tehiya" movement together with Hanan Porat. Rabbi Moshe Levinger of Qiryat Arba' is among those expected to join Porat in the new venture.

"Tehiya" is a right-wing extremist party created in 1979 to oppose the erosion of "traditional Likud-Revisionist" ideology, particularly what was perceived as Begin's compromising policy on the occupied territories and his "softness" in negotiating the Camp David accords with Egypt. Party leader Yuval Ne'eman advocates the extension of full Israeli sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza which he perceives as the fulfillment of Zionism. The new party is expected to adopt similar views in its platform. □

ANALYSIS...

THE PLO AND THE WEST BANK

Israel always maintained that the widespread popular support the PLO enjoys in the occupied Palestinian territories was the result of fear of PLO retaliation. The people of the occupied territories, Israel said, were not unhappy with their lot under Israeli authority, if they only could be left alone by outside agitators. One is reminded of the racist days of the southern states during the civil rights protests.

The people of the occupied territories again recently refuted the Israeli argument. They defied Israeli threats to punish anyone who joins a delegation to meet with PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat in Amman. They went anyway. The Palestinians know who speaks for them.

So it was Israel, not the PLO, which resorted to threats to silence expression. To people who understand the Palestinians and the Israelis, there is nothing surprising about this fact. After all, Israel's authority over Palestinians originated in military conquest, and rests primarily on the use of force and threat of force. On the other hand, PLO influence among the Palestinian people, inside and outside occupied Palestine, derives from the fact that the PLO is a Palestinian movement which articulates Palestinian interests and struggles for the fulfillment of Palestinian aspirations. Palestinian allegiance to the PLO requires no explanations.

Israel, by threatening to punish Palestinians who see Mr. Arafat (and Israeli law does make it a crime for any Palestinian to come into contact with any PLO official), hopes to prevent the unity of the Palestinian people which the PLO symbolizes. It also hopes to detract from the legitimacy of the PLO as the sole spokesman and representative of the Palestinian people. What Israel fails to understand, or finds too painful to accept, is that its relentless oppression of the Palestinian people solidifies the bonds which unite them, and makes them stronger than its threats. The unified stand of the people of the occupied territories during Israel's invasion of Lebanon, their solid support of the constitutional leadership of the PLO, and their disregard of Israeli threats to meet with Mr. Arafat in Jordan should tell the Israelis something: that they are welcome to believe their own myths if they want, but they have only themselves to blame for the consequences. □

ISRAELI ATOM WALL: SECURITY OR SUICIDE?

Dr. Sam Cohen, the American physicist who developed the concept of the neutron bomb, proposed recently that Israel "end the tragedy of war in the Middle East" by building a "nuclear wall" along its borders. Cohen, who worked on the atom-bomb project at Los Alamos, New Mexico, during World War II, advised Israel that an impregnable border barrier, employing a field of radiation produced by underground nuclear reactors, was feasible.

He explained that his "passive radiation barrier" should be seen as a high-tech equivalent of an electric fence that keeps out intruders. The establishment of such a "nuclear wall" can make virtually impossible any successful penetration by enemy ground forces. The wall could be activated permanently or turned on only in periods of crisis. Dr. Cohen

insisted that radiation used in his plan would remain confined to a border area not to exceed several hundred feet wide. The radiation, he said, would not drift in the manner of nuclear fallout and the area would not be made permanently radioactive.

Meanwhile, Israeli Science and Development Minister Yuval Ne'eman said that Israel should not sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. "We would have international inspectors crawling all over us," he said. Speaking before the government spokesmen's forum, Professor Ne'eman reiterated the official Israeli claim that Israel "never crossed the threshold into the nuclear weapons club." Intelligence and armament experts, however, testify that Israel has developed nuclear weapons since 1965. □

PALESTINE... THE DAY AFTER

When the Zionists lobbied for international support for the establishment of a "Jewish homeland" in Palestine early in this century, they said that Palestine was an empty land. They coined the slogan: A land without people for a people without land. The purpose of this myth was to mislead people into believing that Jewish colonization of Palestine would victimize no one.

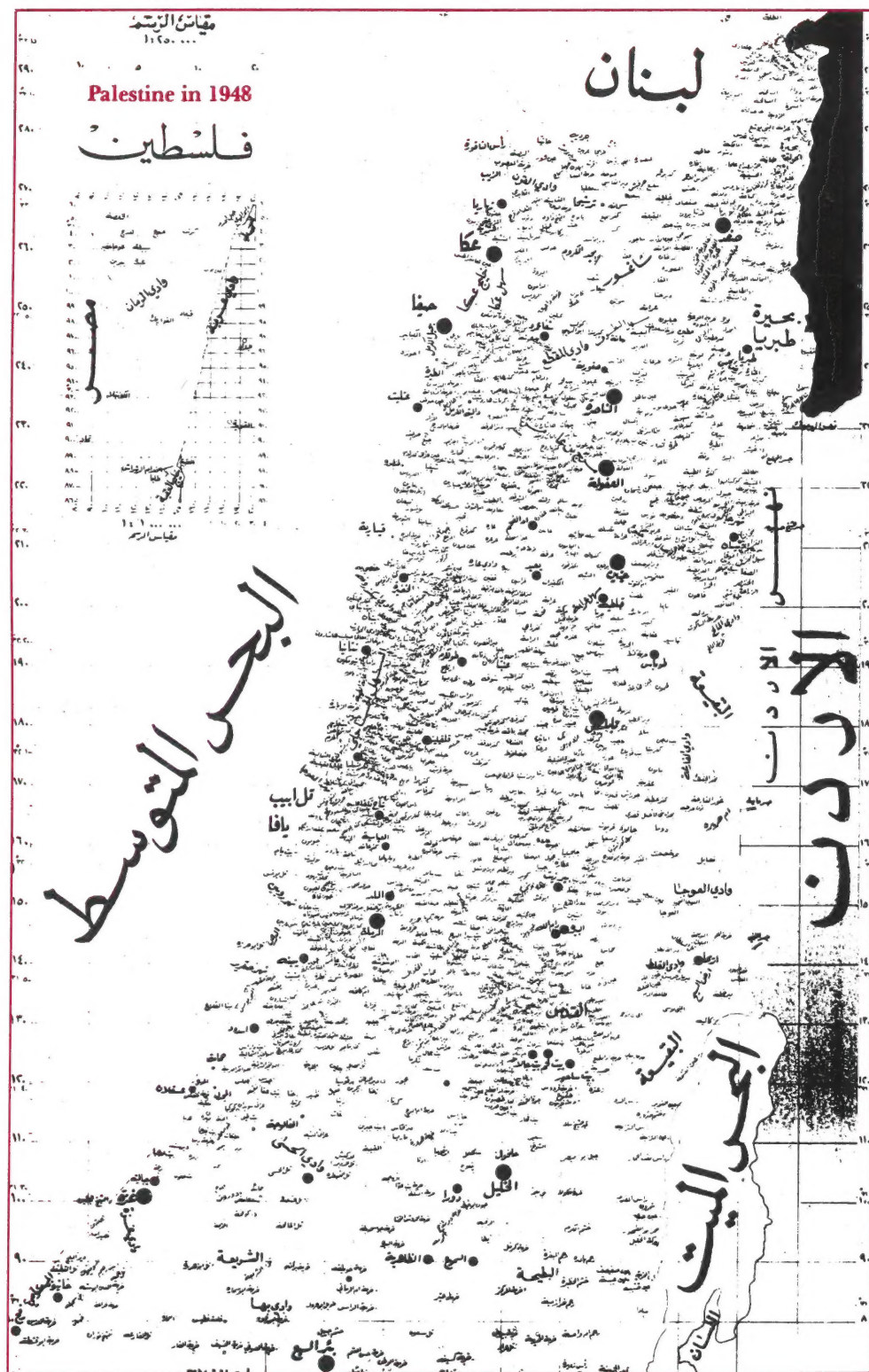
When the Zionists had their way and established Israel in 1948, Palestine had a population density more than three times greater than that of the United States. With the exception of the Negev Desert in the South, which was and is still sparsely populated, Palestine was crowded with towns and villages.

About four hundred Palestinian villages were completely destroyed by Israel in the part of Palestine it occupied in 1948. The destruction of these Palestinian towns and villages was intended to prevent the return of the hundreds of thousands of Palestinians who became war refugees. Today, 36 years later, Israel still denies them the right to return to their homes and homeland, as it "ingathers" Jewish settlers from all over the world to settle on the conquered land.

Today's maps show only the Jewish colonies which have been erected on the ruins of Arab towns and villages in Palestine. Below is a map of Palestine, produced in Arabic by the Arab Studies Center in Jerusalem, which shows Palestine as it was in 1948, before Zionist Israel began to eradicate the evidence of its usurpation. Most towns and villages on the map either no longer exist or have been renamed and repopulated with Jewish colonists. □

PHALANGISTS JOIN HADDAD ARMY

According to Menahem Rahat of *Maariv*, Israeli-controlled militias in South Lebanon have been recently joined by hundreds of Phalangists who were stationed in the Jazzin area. The militias are commanded by Lieutenant Sharbil Barakat,



Major Saad Haddad's replacement as commander of the "Army of Free Lebanon." The Phalangists decided to join the Haddad militias after losing territory to Lebanese Shiite and Druze fighters in the area surrounding Beirut. The decision to disband the Phalange in southern Lebanon and join the Haddad militias was

made by the Phalange supreme command in East Beirut.

Units of the "Free Lebanon" forces (Haddad's militias) are always accompanied by Israeli Army officers and trainers. Similar units cooperated with the Phalangists in carrying out the massacre of Sabra and Shatila in September 1982. □

BUS AMBUSHED: WEST BANK WORKERS ATTACKED

Seven Palestinian laborers were wounded on March 4 as the bus in which they traveled to work came under attack by Jewish terrorist settlers in the West Bank. The crowded bus was attacked with automatic weapons by two groups of gunmen, who ambushed it from both sides of the road in the hills north of Ramallah. The incident took place near an Israeli military camp and the Jewish settlement of Ofra, according to the *New York Times* of March 5, 1984.

The *Times* quoted an Israeli army source saying that shell casings from American-made M-16 and Israeli-made Galil rifles were found at the scene of the crime. Both of these weapons are standard equipment in the Israeli army.

The attack on the bus followed a sequence of terrorist attacks on Palestinians in the occupied West Bank, including a series of bombings of Moslem and Christian places of worship in Jerusalem. An Israeli terrorist group which calls itself TNT (Hebrew acronym for Terror Against Terror) claimed responsibility for these attacks which began in July



1983, with the murder of three students and the wounding of about forty others on the campus of the University of Hebron.

Israel radio reported the following day that four American-Jewish

settlers were arrested on suspicion of attacking the bus. This same group is also suspected of being responsible for the abortive attempt to blow up al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem recently. Such attacks by Jewish settlers have so far gone unpunished by the Israeli occupation authorities. □

TNT: PROFESSIONAL TERRORISM

A recent official investigation of Jewish terrorism in the occupied territories reported by *Yediot Aharonot* confirms that the group calling itself TNT (Terror Against Terror) is a very well organized Jewish underground organization with skill in planning and implementation. TNT has claimed responsibility for 28 attacks against Palestinian targets over the past 100 days. The latest Jewish terrorist attack came on March 4, 1984, when TNT members machine-gunned a civilian bus carrying Arab workers on their way to work.

According to Gad Li'or of *Yediot Aharonot*, an official investigation into the activities of TNT began the very day the Jewish terrorist group placed six booby-trapped grenades at several churches and mosques in Jerusalem about 4 months ago. The

investigation revealed the following:

1. The people who placed the grenades were "professionals," who have extensive knowledge of ammunition and explosive materials.

2. The action could not have been carried out by a single person.

3. The weapons and ammunition used by the Jewish terrorists are made by the Israeli Army.

4. It is possible that one or more of the terrorists involved was or still is on active duty in the Israeli armed forces.

5. TNT members carry out surveillance and data gathering activities before every operation.

6. The group consists of a small group of Jews with right wing nationalist political views and religious fanaticism. □

RABBI KAHANA DEFENDS TERRORISTS

In light of recent arrests of Jewish terrorists implicated in the March 4 attack on an Arab bus in Ramallah and the January attack on al-Aqsa Mosque, Rabbi Meir Kahana denied that his followers were involved in any of these attacks. Kahana, however, admitted that the detained terrorists were members of his group and told Israeli Radio that he would finance their legal defense. Kahana further stated that he in no way condemns what the terrorists have done. In referring to the bus attack, the American-born rabbi stated: "Whoever does it certainly is committing an act of sanctification in God's name." When the interviewer accused Kahana of inciting to murder and setting himself up as judge and executioner, he answered: "I set myself up as a rabbi!" □

ERODED HEROISM

An Israeli editor recently described Israeli soldiers returning from active duty in occupied Lebanon as "eroded from yet another stint in Lebanon." The article, written by Meir Doron, editor of *Bamahane Nahal*, the weekly Hebrew magazine of the Nahal (para-military corps), was deleted by military censors on the grounds that it contradicted the interest of the Israeli army.

The censored editorial said about returning soldiers: "I see them getting poorer from (one tour of duty to another)...I have friends and they are becoming fewer...I am afraid we are not counting our closed hearts among the casualties of this war." □

SOLIDARITY WITH WOMEN PRISONERS

The Jewish Women for a Secular Middle East staged a protest demonstration at the San Francisco Israeli Immigration Office on March 8, International Women's Day. The demonstration, supported by a number of groups in the San Francisco area, was organized to express solidarity with Palestinian women political prisoners in the Neve Tertz prison in Ramleh.

The 38 Palestinian women prisoners have been on strike for almost a year, in protest of increasingly harsh treatment by the Israeli authorities. The prisoners have been denied books, newspapers, and radios. More recently, the prison authorities began to dismantle and close down the prison library. Visits of relatives were reduced from once every two weeks to once every two months. The time out of the cells was cut down from 7-8 hours to one hour a day, and inmates are allowed out at different times to minimize contacts among them.

To subdue the protesting prisoners, their Israeli jailers locked them up in their cells, according to a statement released by the Jewish Women for a Secular Middle East, and released gas into the cells. "Many of the prisoners could hardly speak because of the effects of the gas in their throats and suffered from uncontrollable shaking, burns and beatings by the guards." □

OPPOSITION TO WAR

Frustration with Israeli aggression in Lebanon continues to mount in Israel. Nearly 1000 Kibbutz members and army reservists from the Beit Shean area held a demonstration outside the Prime Minister's office in Jerusalem calling for the withdrawal of the Israeli occupation army from Lebanon. The demonstrators described their political aim as an attempt to persuade the Israeli government to adopt a policy that "makes some sense."

According to soldiers who participated in the protest, continued Israeli occupation of Lebanon has been harmful both to training and morale within the Israeli armed forces. One reservist said: "We spend our nights chasing elusive figures, afraid of Shiites armed with the guns which Arik Sharon had given them!"

Public opinion polls show that the Israeli public is beginning to understand that instead of bringing perpetual peace, as Israel's leaders claimed, the invasion of Lebanon was the start of an endless war. The Israeli public initially supported the war. Now the majority believe it was a mistake in the first place. □



Life Under Occupation

"QUOTE UNQUOTE"

"If Zionism is a national liberation movement, many Jews do not wish to be liberated."

Roberta Strauss Feuerlicht
The Fate of the Jews (1983)

"It is unduly limiting on American diplomacy for the United States to have to gain Israel's approval for transactions it otherwise believes to be in the American interest."

Editorial
Washington Post
15 March 1984

"The U.S. is not free to move except within the limits of what AIPAC, the Zionists and the state of Israel determine for it."

King Hussein, interview
New York Times
15 March 1984

"Since 1953 Israel, and friends of Israel in America, have determined the broad outlines of U.S. policy in the region. It has been left to American Presidents to implement that policy..."

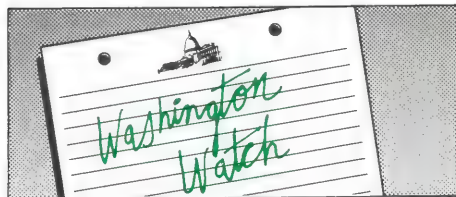
Stephen Green
Taking Sides (1984)

"The real problem is with the United States, which...is all too often ready to subordinate its security interests to the will of Israel."

Philip Geyelin
Washington Post
23 February 1984

"The heart of every Arab town in Judea and Samaria must be settled in, and there must not be a single place left without Jews living there."

Ariel Sharon
Voice of Israel Radio
4 March 1984



REVIEW: *TAKING SIDES* The US and Israeli Militarism

"Eisenhower was the last American President to actually make U.S. Middle East policy." This is the conclusion reached by a recent study of "the special relationship" between the U.S. and Israel. In his book, *Taking Sides: America's Secret Relations With a Militant Israel*, Stephen Green says that America's policy in the Middle East is in fact made in Israel. He writes: "Since 1953 Israel, and friends of Israel in America, have determined the broad outlines of U.S. policy in the region. It has been left to American Presidents to implement that policy, with varying degrees of enthusiasm, and to deal with tactical issues."

Mr. Green points out that from 1948 to 1963 (when Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy were presidents), U.S. policy favored Israel, but it was also concerned with the broader regional picture which took into account the concerns of other states in the Middle East. U.S. Middle East policy during this earlier period, he says, was based on a consciousness of American interests which are not identical with Israel's, and was guided by the Tripartite Declaration of 1950 (with Britain and France). For that reason, U.S. and Israeli policies occasionally clashed.

During the Johnson administration, "U.S. policy on Middle Eastern matters abruptly changed. It would perhaps be more accurate to say that it disintegrated." "Lyndon Johnson's Middle East team simply lost sight of the distinction between U.S. and Israeli national security interests." U.S.-Israeli relations became a one-sided alliance. The U.S. increased and upgraded its support for Israel and its policies, but "Israel ignored U.S. national interest." This new pattern of U.S.-Israeli relations,

COMMENTARY... THE KISSINGER COMPLEX

In 1975, in partial payment for agreeing to the second Egyptian-Israeli troop disengagement agreement in Sinai, Israel demanded and received from the then U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger an American pledge not to negotiate with the PLO until it recognized Israel and Security Council resolution 242 of 1967. In other words, if the Palestinians give up all claims to 80 percent of Palestine, and if they give up nationhood, and if they abandon their quest for independence, then the U.S. government would agree to *talk* to them!

In exchange for Palestinian recognition of Israel (and more), the U.S. does not commit itself to supporting the right of the Palestinians to anything; it only promises to talk to them. Talk to them about what? U.S. Middle East policy since the U.S. took the Kissingerian oath in 1975 makes the answer to this question sufficiently clear. President Reagan's "peace" initiative of September 1982 wants the PLO to transfer to Jordan its legitimacy as spokesman for the Palestinian people, to enable Jordan and Israel to negotiate an Israeli-Jordanian condominium over the Palestinian people. In brief, the U.S. would be willing to counsel the Palestinians on how to stop the world and jump.

This policy is the surest way to guarantee the continuation of conflict in the Middle East. One hoped that the experience of the past nine years taught U.S. policymakers one simple lesson: that you cannot resolve a conflict by ignoring the existence and position of the party around whom the whole conflict revolves; in this case the Palestinian people.

Perhaps it is out of fear that the folly of this policy would become apparent that Israel's voices in the U.S. political system are reinforcing the U.S. commitment not to recognize the PLO. Congressman Levine is seeking to make it unlawful for any officer or employee or agent of the U.S. government to speak to anyone associated with the PLO, "unless and until the Palestine Liberation Organization recognizes Israel's right to exist, accepts Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, and renounces the use of terrorism."

On the assumption that Mr. Levine, through his bill, is seeking to safeguard U.S. national interests and not only Israel's paranoias, we would like to ask him a question: If PLO recognition of Israel, its acceptance of resolutions 242 and 338, and its renunciation of "terrorism" are in the national interests of the U.S., why make it illegal for a U.S. official to communicate with the PLO even to persuade it to do what the U.S. wants it to do? □

Mr. Green says, continues until this day.

The result of this change, according to Mr. Green, was that "In U.S. foreign relations since 1967, Israel seemed to be the exception to every rule, every principle America stood for."

Green attributes this change in U.S. policy in the Middle East to two factors. One, domestic political considerations and, two, the Johnson administration's deepening involvement in Viet Nam. Regarding the second factor, he says that the Johnson administration helped to militarize Israel to be its proxy in the Middle East where it worked to impose a "Pax Hebraeca." This required that "U.S. national security interests in the region would become merged with Israel's to a degree that

was, and is to this day, unique in the history of U.S. foreign relations." Mr. Green correctly points out that "America took sides—not with Israel as such, but with the militarists in that country...."

U.S. encouragement of Israeli militarism is neither morally nor pragmatically defensible. "My objections to Israel's militarism (and to America's role in its development)" Green writes, "are both moral and pragmatic. We should not lose sight of the fact that it simply has not worked. Who can look at Israel today, and at its position in the Middle East and the world, and see a secure Jewish homeland?"

Taking Sides is a truly remarkable book and an impressive presentation of a topic of vital importance. It is strongly documented by official U.S.

reports which have been strangely ignored by researchers who apparently wanted to evade certain conclusions. Mr. Green's efforts in the National Archives in Washington, and in presidential libraries (the Eisenhower Library in Abilene, Kansas, and the Johnson Library in Austin, Texas) unearthed new facts and produced a forceful thesis on U.S.-Israeli relations.

No one can read *Taking Sides*, with an open mind, without realizing how true it is—as Mr. Green put it in his discussion of how Israel came into being in 1948—that “The reality was different from the myth as to be unrecognizable.” One is constantly impressed by the accuracy of this statement as one reads about how the Zionists in 1948 gained military supremacy by using a worldwide network to recruit foreign mercenaries and to secure a flood of military supplies; about how Israeli militarists, led by Ben Gurion and Dayan, sabotaged the possibility of peace in 1954; about Israel's collusion with France and Britain to invade Egypt in 1956; about Israel's development of a nuclear arsenal in the 1960's; about the war of 1967 and the U.S. contributions to it; and about the Israeli attack on the *USS Liberty*.

Mr. Green promised us a sequel to *Taking Sides* to cover the period since 1967. Anyone who is truly interested in understanding the Middle East problem and U.S. policy in that important region would want to see Mr. Green's next book. □

NASSER WAS RIGHT

During the Third Arab-Israeli War in 1967, in which Israel occupied the rest of Palestine (the West Bank and Gaza Strip), the Syrian Golan Heights, and the Egyptian Sinai, President Nasser said the U.S. Air Force was involved on Israel's side. The U.S. and Israel strongly denied Nasser's accusation, and said it was intended to justify the poor performance of Arab forces.

Now, seventeen years later, Nasser's accusations have been confirmed. The story of U.S. participa-

tion has been told in detail in Stephen Green's book *Taking Sides*. Also, for the first time, one of the U.S. airmen who were involved in the operation, spoke out. His story, the basis of an article by Daniel Southerland, published in the *Christian Science Monitor* of 15 March 1984, confirms that role of the U.S. Air Force as well as American prior knowledge of Israel's impending attack on three Arab countries. □

ISRAEL: CLIENT STATE

In all respects except one, Israel has become America's client state. Only in the case of the Republic of Vietnam, in the decade spanning the late 1960's and early 1970's, has the United States had such a relationship—one in which we provide the daily sustenance for virtually every single human being in the country. From 1946 to 1983, we have provided over \$27 billion in official economic and military aid to Israel. This amounts to over \$7,700 for every man, woman and child living in Israel at the present time—over \$38,000 for each family of five. During the last three fiscal years (1981-1983), U.S. official assistance has averaged over \$3,400 each year for each Israeli family of five. These figures do not include private gifts and donations, or the sale of Israeli development bonds.

Seventy percent of all U.S. official assistance to Israel has been military. America has given Israel over \$17 billion in military aid since 1946, virtually all of which—over 99 percent—has been provided since 1965. The United States has given, in this period, almost three times the military assistance to Israel alone than we have given to the other 19 Middle Eastern states combined, even including the assistance provided to Iran during the time of the Shah. □

Reprinted from Stephen Green's Taking Sides (p. 251), with permission from the publisher, William Morrow & Company, Inc.

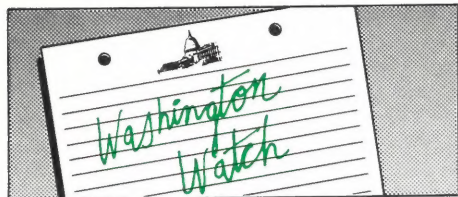
U.S. EMBASSY BILL STIRS DIPLOMATIC PROBLEMS

Legislation introduced in the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives to move the U.S. embassy and the residence of the U.S. ambassador from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem continues to attract bipartisan support on Capitol Hill. *The Washington Post* reports that Rep. Tom Lantos (D-Calif.), sponsor of the House version of the bill, has 201 co-sponsors; in the Senate, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) has been joined by 37 colleagues in support of his bill (S.2031).

The Reagan administration, concerned about Arab reaction to this emotional issue, continues its lobbying efforts to kill the bill in both the House and the Senate. Secretary of State George P. Schultz expressed his opposition to moving the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv in a recent letter to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. President Reagan told House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) that this legislation, if enacted, would cause “diplomatic problems” for the United States and could further damage U.S. interests in the Arab world.

Rep. Tom Lantos described the administration's opposition as “blatant appeasement” of Arab governments. Supporters of the bill discount the administration's fears of possible adverse Arab and Islamic reaction. In the words of Senator Joseph R. Biden, Jr. (D-Del.), “If the Arabs can sustain and swallow our policy in Lebanon, they can take just about anything.”

A legislative source on Capitol Hill told *Palestine Perspectives* that the American Jewish community and the Zionist lobby are totally committed to the passage of this bill into law. Legal experts are divided on whether Congress can, within the bounds of the constitution, force the Reagan administration to transfer the U.S. embassy to Jerusalem. If the bill is passed, President Reagan will be challenged to veto it. Whether Mr. Reagan is capable of facing this challenge in the midst of a presidential campaign remains to be seen. □



VERBOTEN: NEGOTIATIONS WITH PLO

It is curious that the United States government, which has always taken the position that conflicts, especially the Arab-Israeli conflict, should be resolved through negotiations, may soon be forbidden by law to make any kind of contact, directly or indirectly, with the principal party of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the PLO.

The House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East adopted an amendment barring the administration from dealing with the Palestine Liberation Organization. The amendment, sponsored by Rep. Mel Levine (D-Cal.), was unanimously approved during the deliberations on President Reagan's foreign aid requests for fiscal 1985.

According to the *Washington Post*, the PLO amendment was prompted by recent revelation that the administration carried out extended contacts with the PLO through a third party during 1981

AMERICAN AID TO ISRAEL: NATURE AND IMPACT

By Muhammad El-Khawas
and Samir Abed-Rabbo

A revealing and factual account which challenges the legal, ethical, moral, and political aspects and ramifications of U.S. aid to Israel. Includes statistics and historical background, as well as the text of the uncensored 1983 draft report of the GAO on *U.S. Assistance to the State of Israel*. Foreword written by Rabbi Elmer Berger.

Published by Amana Books, 58 Elliot Street, Brattleboro, VT. 05301. Softcover, \$8.95. 192 pages.

and 1982 (See *Palestine Perspectives*, March 1984). The amendment is intended to bind the administration to Henry Kissinger's 1975 pledge to Israel that the United States not recognize or negotiate with the PLO until it recognizes Israel's right to exist. The amendment simply "reaffirms this policy."

The text of the amendment further states that, "In accordance with that policy, no officer or employee of the United States government and no agent or other individual acting on behalf of the United States government shall negotiate with the Palestine Liberation Organization or any representatives thereof...."

The amendment reflects the fear of Zionist circles in Washington and Tel Aviv that direct contacts with the PLO might familiarize the administration with the true intentions of the Palestinian people and subsequently soften the American position which is based on myth and outdated Israeli propaganda. Israel and its supporters on Capitol Hill clearly prefer to deny American policymakers the option of direct contact with the Palestinian leadership in order to keep successive U.S. administrations hostage to the Kissinger agreement of 1975, thus preventing the U.S. from contributing effectively to the search for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. □

ADC PLEADS FOR SAMEEHA KHALIL

On the occasion of the release of its 1983 report on Israeli human rights practices in the occupied territories, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) issued a statement, dated 27 February, in which it called attention to the case of Sameeha Khalil, the well-known president of a charitable society in the West Bank, who has been frequently harassed by the Israeli military authorities. *Palestine Perspectives* (November/December 1983 issue) printed Sameeha Khalil's appeal for help against the Israeli authorities denial of her right to see her children.

Below is an excerpt from the ADC statement on Sameeha Khalil's case:

Sameeha Khalil is the president of a women's organization, *In'ash El-Usra* which provides training for young women in primary education, hair cutting, cooking and secretarial skills. The society is also committed to the preservation of Palestinian culture—songs, dancing, and embroidery. It is this latter activity, the preservation of Palestinian culture, which has brought Sameeha Khalil into conflict with the Israeli authorities. She has been under town arrest since August 7, 1980 and since that date has been denied all requests to travel. Her 5 children who live in Jordan have also been denied permission to visit her. Additionally, a broad order which forbids West Bank leaders of women's organizations to speak publicly on political issues has prevented Sameeha's addressing the fundamental problems affecting women on the West Bank.

Sameeha Khalil has broken no laws. There are no charges against her. Rather, in the name of vague "security interests," she has been denied the right to see her children. □

PEACE GROUPS THREAT TO ISRAEL

Zionist author Rael Jean Isaac accused the nuclear-freeze movement and many environmental groups of using the desire for peace and safer environment as gimmicks to undermine the security of both the United States and Israel. The author of *Israel Divided: Ideological Politics in the Jewish States*, told her audience at an Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith luncheon that "Jews have a special responsibility to keep their heads and beware of these groups." She declared: "The peace movement is a fashionable panic."

Jewish groups have been relative latecomers "on the nuclear-freeze bandwagon," according to Isaac. She said that virtually all Jewish organizations except the ADL have become involved. She cited Agudath Israel as the only Jewish organization that "has openly attacked this Jewish folly." □

KING HUSSEIN: ENOUGH IS ENOUGH

In an interview with *The New York Times*, published on 15 March 1984, King Hussein of Jordan said that "The U.S. is not free to move except within the limits of what Aipac [Israel's lobby in the U.S.], the Zionists and the state of Israel determine for it." As a consequence, the U.S. cannot be an acceptable mediator of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Instead, it is an ally of one of the protagonists, the state of Israel.

Press reports attributed Hussein's bitterly-expressed disillusionment with U.S. Middle East policy to certain specific episodes, such as Congressional opposition to arms sales to Jordan. Some of them even went so far as to suggest that he was seeking to appease "Arab radicals." The fact of the matter is that King Hussein was simply drawing inescapable conclusions. The U.S. cannot be a protagonist as well as an honest broker in the Middle East. It cannot continue to support and subsidize Israeli rampant militarism and plead for a just peace.

Following are excerpts from King Hussein's interview:

■ It just appears more clearly than ever before that the United States has forsaken its position as a superpower and as a moral defender of the world. It has forsaken its position as a nation that stands by its word and its commitments. It has chosen to disqualify itself as the sole force in the area that could help us all move towards a just and durable peace. **The U.S. is not free to move except within the limits of what Aipac, the Zionists and the state of Israel determine for it.**

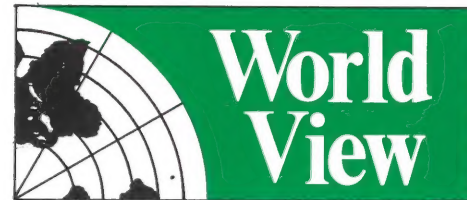
■ We see things in the following way: Israel is on our land. It is there by virtue of American military and economic aid that translates into aid for Israeli settlements. Israel is there by virtue of American moral and political support to the point where the United States is succumbing to Israeli dictates.

It's obvious that this being the case, there is no way by which anyone should imagine it would be possible for Arabs to sit and talk with Israel as long as things are as they are.

As far as the United States is concerned, the question that is posed is: is the United States able to elevate itself to the status of a superpower? To live up to its commitments and its frequent pronouncements of being even-handed? We don't see it happening. We obviously can't deal with the United States as an ally of Israel or as a mediator.

The United States asserts that its present plan is valid, but is it really? Israel has rejected it; Israel has changed conditions on the ground to the point where it almost makes no sense. We have another year of an election campaign in the United States; contenders must appeal for the favors of Aipac and Zionism and Israel. Even this year has seen such drastic changes on the ground that within a year, any fragments of hope left of achieving a peaceful solution to the problem will be destroyed. So this is where we are, and that's why I say it's hopeless.

■ The positions we have adopted over the years, of trying to establish a dialogue with Washington and the United States, of trying to contribute to the creation of a more balanced approach to the problem, which is in the interests of all of the parties to this conflict, have failed.



You obviously have made your choice and your choice is Israel and support of Israel. That being the case, there is no hope of achieving anything.

■ I have a final thought: **I am very concerned about the United States and its double standard everywhere.** The saddest point for me is that I've always believed values and courageous principles were an area that we shared. I now realize that principles mean nothing to the United States. Short-term issues, especially in election years, prevail. □

U.N.: PALESTINIAN HUMAN RIGHTS

The U.N. Commission on Human Rights adopted in late February three resolutions criticizing Israel for its continued violation of Palestinian human rights in the occupied territories. The U.S. was the only country to oppose the resolutions. Eleven countries abstained.

In the first resolution, the Commission confirmed that Israel's continuous grave breaches of the Geneva Convention were war crimes and an affront to humanity. It requested the General Assembly to recommend to the Security Council the adoption of appropriate sanctions against Israel.

The Commission reaffirmed the fact that Israeli occupation of Arab land constitutes a fundamental violation of the human rights of the civilian population under occupation. It rejected and condemned Israel's annexation of Jerusalem and its continuous attempt to change the physical and demographic character of the occupied territories. In addition, the Commission condemned Israeli policies promoting and expanding the Jewish settlements on Arab land, and arming the settlers to commit acts of violence against Arab civilians and institutions. The following were among the specific Israeli practices condemned by the Commission:

- 1) The confiscation and expropriation of Arab property
- 2) The destruction and demolition of Arab houses
- 3) Mass arrests, collective punishments, house detention and torture
- 4) Interference with religious freedoms and practices
- 5) The systematic repression against cultural and educational institutions
- 6) The dismantling of municipal services and dismissal of elected mayors
- 7) The exploitation of natural resources in the occupied territories

In the second resolution, the Commission strongly condemned Israel for its attempts to impose Israeli citizenship and identity cards on the Syrian citizens of the occupied Golan Heights by force.

The third resolution called upon Israel to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, in order to restore to the Palestinian people their inalienable national rights. □

POSTMORTEM APARTHEID

(*New York Times*, March 7, 1984)

The body of a Christian woman, believed to have been stolen from her grave in a Jewish cemetery by rigorously Orthodox Jews, was reburied by the police today.

The Israeli radio said the body was reburied a few hours after the Supreme Court ordered that the body be put back into the original tomb in the cemetery in Rishon Lezion.

The body was that of Teresa Engelovitz, who came to Israel with her Jewish husband after they both survived a Nazi concentration camp.

Although Mrs. Engelovitz never converted to Judaism, her daughter, Adina Har-Paz, said her mother followed Jewish tradition in their home. When she died in 1982, she was buried in the Jewish cemetery in Rishon Lezion, seven miles southwest of Tel Aviv.

When it was discovered Mrs. Engelovitz was not Jewish, the town's Jewish burial society demanded that her body be exhumed and reburied in a segregated section of the cemetery.

The Chief Rabbinate refused to comment and said the reburial was the problem of the Religious Affairs Ministry. In Israel, burial, like marriage and divorce, comes under the jurisdiction of the religion to which a person belongs. □

ISRAEL: GUNS BEFORE BUTTER

In spite of the fact that more than \$3 billion, in public and private money, is transferred every year from the United States to Israel, and in spite of Israel's exploitation of labor and resources of the occupied Arab territories, poverty is on the rise in Israel.

A recent report by the Israeli National Insurance Institute said that half a million Israelis now live below the poverty line, which means no electricity, heating, school fees or other essentials. The percentage of people living below the poverty line increased from 7.8 percent in 1981 to 8.1 percent in 1982, according to the report. Families with children and non-European Jews are disproportionately represented among Israel's poor.

The Israeli report blames growing

poverty on the Israeli government's failure to adjust taxes to Israel's three digit inflation. However, Israel's expenditures on weapons and its lavish subsidies to Jewish settlements in the occupied territories do not help either.

The Hebrew language daily, *Ha'aretz*, said that the money for the war in Lebanon "which by all accounts needn't have been waged" and "the spending of staggering sums to finance the settlement of several hundred families" in the occupied territories could have been better used to fight poverty in Israel. The paper continued: "A distorted order of priorities, and an ambitious policy governed by delusions of grandeur, spawned the depressing picture depicted in the N.I.I. report." □

ARENS BOYCOTTS BROTHER'S FUNERAL

The Washington correspondent of the *Jerusalem Post* reports that Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens did not attend his brother's funeral in Connecticut after learning that Professor Richard Arens had recently converted to Christianity. Defense Minister Arens came to the U.S. for the express purpose of attending the funeral. He was not aware of his brother's conversion. Arens did attend an earlier family service, but refused to go to the funeral, which was conducted according to Christian tradition.

Richard Arens died of a heart attack on February 26, 1984. He was 62. Arens had been an outspoken critic of Israel and a supporter of Palestinian human and national rights. He served as president and director of Survival International—USA, a London-based human rights advocacy organization. He was also an active member of Amnesty International—USA and of the advisory board of Search for Equality and Justice in Palestine. He taught law at the University of Bridgeport Law School. □



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